

The PROGRESSIVE

And LA FOLLETTE'S MAGAZINE

★ Founded In 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

★

Copyright 1946 by The Progressive Publishing Company ★

VOL. 10, NO. 1

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Madison, Wis., under the Act of Mar. 6, 1879.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1946

Published Weekly

Price Ten Cents

Three 'Musts' For The Atomic Age

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE dread potentialities of the atomic bomb have made a profound impression upon the imagination of thoughtful Americans. Suggestions, put forward not by alarmist crackpots, but by eminent scientists acquainted with the demonic forces of destruction which they have helped to unloose, that 40 million Americans might be wiped out in a single atomic blitz, that two-thirds of civilized life might be destroyed in an atomic war have left their mark. There is a well justified concern lest the bell which tolled for Hiroshima and Nagasaki may toll in the living span of many Americans now alive in New York and Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia.



W. H. Chamberlin

At the same time it should always be remembered that panic never helps in any crisis, whether it be a shipwreck, a fire, or the menace of the split atom. There is a strong element of panic, of unreason in two suggestions that are sometimes heard in discussions of the atomic threat. One of these is that we should immediately set about organizing a "world government." The other is that we should rush to hand our atomic bomb manufacturing secret to the Soviet Union on a silver platter, without any *quid pro quo*.

* * *

THERE is an element of logic in the idea that only a world government, enforcing a world code of law, could banish the threat of war. We might as well face the facts frankly. No other scheme has worked. Neither balance of power nor unbalance of power, neither militarism nor pacifism, neither preparedness nor unpreparedness has served to ward off the periodic conflicts of the past. It is arguable, in my opinion, that America could have avoided participation in World War I and in World War II.

I am convinced, in the light of historical retrospect, that America, Europe, and the whole world would have been infinitely better off if World War I had ended in a "peace without victory," a peace by negotiation, in 1915 or 1916, not in the crushing victory which was made possible by American intervention. And the consequences of World War II, with its philosophy of war to the bitter end and unconditional surrender, have been so appalling for European culture and civilization that it must be a very self-assured or a very insensitive person who would call our interventionist policy of 1940 and 1941 unconditionally blessed.

But the atomic bomb has greatly increased our vulnerability. If the most enthusiastic interventionist of 1940-41 must feel qualms of conscience and questions of reason about some of the results of World War II, the most resolute isolationist of pre-Pearl Harbor days cannot shut his eyes and his mind to the possibility of an atomic Pearl Harbor that would strike not some remote outpost, but the very industrial nerve centers of our country.

Yet, if world government is logical, it is a logical impossibility. Its most enthusiastic apostles are strangely silent when confronted with the practical question of how to organize a universal state under present day conditions. Only an immature and superficial mind like Wendell Willkie's could have coined or popularized such a deceptive slogan as "One World" at a time when the world is so riven and separated by ideological, political, and economic differences.

There is a world of democracy in the sense of free elections and civil liberties. There is a world of totalitarianism. There is a third "world" of countries which are in various degrees of ferment under the old system of colonial imperialism. There is a pariah helot world of the defeated Axis powers. Between these four more or less distinct "worlds," there are no effective common standards of justice and equity.

* * *

THE world's worst war and the world's worst peace which has followed it, have increased, not allayed hatreds and divisions. Anyone who seriously believes

that world government is a practical ideal would be well advised to reread the reports of the San Francisco Conference and to notice the uncompromising attitude of the semi-official Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, toward the suggestion that the veto right of the great powers in the United Nations council should be abandoned. Relinquishment of the veto right would be a minor step, compared with acceptance of the authority of a world government. It is hardly reasonable to assume that a power which balks at the first step would accept the second.

To advocate world government is to advocate escapism. This dream can only be realized in a world of universal democracy and civil liberties, where the sharper edges of oppression and injustice have been eliminated and where there is a far greater similarity between peoples as to standards of living, standards of right and justice, cultural and educational methods and ideals.

Equally short-sighted is the suggestion that the atomic bomb secret be turned over to the Soviet Union without any equivalent. Familiar arguments for this procedure are that Russia will learn the secret anyway and that the revelation of the secret will make for international confidence and goodwill. Both these arguments seem to me completely fallacious.

A head start is of tremendous importance in atomic research as in aviation research. The attempt to play down the advantage which America, Great Britain, and Canada possess in knowing the manufacturing secret of the bomb is not convincing. If Soviet foreign policy during and since the war had been less truculent and aggressive, had shown more regard for the pledged word and more willingness for cooperation, there might be a stronger case for handing over the bomb secret, even though Russia never shared military secrets of far less importance with us when American Lend-Lease aid was pouring into Russia during the late war.

In the light of the actual Soviet record in Poland and the Baltic States, in the Balkans and Iran, to strengthen a powerful and aggressive dictatorship by handing over a military secret of such tremendous importance would not be enlightened international cooperation. It would be fatuous, sapheaded, perhaps suicidal weakness.

* * *

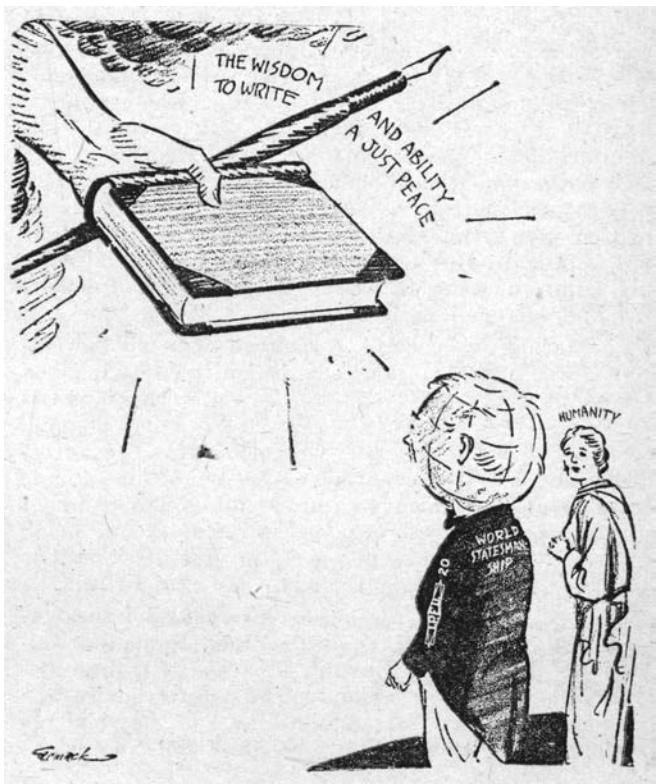
AT the same time no one in his right mind wants an atomic armament race. Where is the solution for this dilemma? I am not one of those who believe that any single panacea can extricate world civilization from the fearful crisis of our time. But I would suggest three policies, which might be called atomic imperatives, and which, if followed through vigorously and consistently, would open up a brighter prospect for the future.

1. The only practical way to deal with the menace of the atomic bomb is to treat it as part of the larger question of arms limitation. And the only practical way to achieve arms limitation is to conclude a convention

with all other major military powers and then to set up an international control commission which would possess the right to go anywhere at any time on a moment's notice to check up on any rumor that this convention was being violated by any of its signatories.

There has been so much violence and treachery in international life in our age that mere paper statements

A Gift For The Times



Christian Science Monitor

by governments of intention not to manufacture or use atomic bombs or to stay within certain armament limits would command little confidence. A minimum proof of good intentions would be to lay all cards on the table, to throw open arsenals and factories everywhere to international inspection.

Such a scheme would encounter strong criticism and resistance. I am not at all sure that American and British public opinion has advanced to a point where foreign investigation of armaments and munitions plants would be accepted. There is a long tradition of secrecy and suspicion in Russia to overcome. But the consequences of fatalistically drifting into an arms race in this era of atomic warfare are so potentially terrible that I think the American Government might well take

(Continued on Page 3)

In This Issue

CARLETON BEALS
One Man's Prison

ERNEST L. MEYER
Needed: Builders In Bedlam

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
Mr. Truman's Military Blueprint

LAWRENCE H. SINGER
Club 65

ISABEL B. LA FOLLETTE
Yeast For The Future

HENRY BESTON
Country Chronicle

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
Washington's Wallgren

FRANK C. HANIGHEN
Not Merely Gossip

(See Page 5 For Special Announcement)



THE WEEK IN REVIEW



THE split in Democratic Party ranks has ceased to be a "family affair" which can be hushed up and kept from the neighbors. Postmaster General Robert Hannegan, the Democratic boss, has sought desperately behind the scenes to apply salve to wounded feelings, but Washington reports this week indicated that the scars are too deep to respond to Hannegan's medicine. The Democratic leader is up against something he knows little about—a major division on basic issues.



Hannegan

Spearheading the rebellion against the Truman Administration are the Southern Tories who are infuriated at the occasional evidences of mild and modest liberalism displayed by the White House. Rep. John S. Gibson, Georgia Democrat, summed up the feeling of a group of other Southerners when he announced last week that an "open break" now exists with the President and added that there was little if any prospect of improvement when Congress reconvenes after the holiday recess.

Commenting on recent actions by President Truman—listed below—Gibson said they constituted a "political blunder," and then went on: "It was just like waving a red flag in our faces. He should have left well enough alone. Now we have an open break, just like with the late President Roosevelt."

This harsh judgment, and many another voiced by other Southern Democrats who declined to permit use of their names, followed these three White House developments:

1. The President's action in vetoing his first major bill—the measure restoring \$51,000,000,000 in unexpended war appropriations to the Treasury—because it contained a rider providing for return of the U. S. Employment Service to state control in 100 days. In his message to Congress Sept. 6, Mr. Truman had specifically asked that Federal control of USES be maintained until June, 1947, in order to coordinate reemployment activities during the reconversion period. To subdivide this service into 41 separate state and territorial agencies, he said in his veto message, would only cause "confusion and delay" in the human problems of reconversion.

2. The President aroused Democratic reactionaries by sending letters to key members of Congress in which he characterized as "unacceptable" the House version of the Full Employment Bill passed three months ago by the Senate. The greatly emaciated House substitute "lacks essential features" of the legislation he wants set forth in a Federal policy of maintaining "a high level of employment," the President wrote. No bill containing "substantially less" than the Senate version can accomplish this desired purpose, he asserted.

3. Southern Tories turned even more sour when the President issued an order authorizing the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate and

It's A Seller's Market



New York Herald Tribune

report on employment practices in private industry until June 30. The Southern bloc is determined to abolish the FEPC whose sole mission is to help prevent discrimination in the hiring of employees because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Probe To Resume

New attempts to hamstring the Congressional investigation into the Pearl Harbor disaster were launched this week by Democratic members of the special Congressional Investigating Committee. Administration spokesmen have largely dominated the proceedings up to the present, but now that the second phase of the inquiry is about to begin, the Committee's counsel have resigned and a fresh effort is being made to cut down on the volume of testimony.

Sen. Scott Lucas, Illinois Democrat, who has been an Administration spokesman on the Committee, proposed last week that the investigation be curtailed by limiting the time of examination of witnesses. Sen. Homer Ferguson, Michigan Republican, who has conducted much of the adverse examination of Army and Navy brass-hats and diplomatic officials, promptly objected. "I am willing to speed up in any way possible,"

Sen. Ferguson said, "but we can't get all the facts if we are going to limit the investigation." He proposed that instead of cutting short examination of witnesses, the Committee work longer hours and have exhibits and evidence submitted more promptly by counsel.

Sen. Ferguson struck back at critics who have complained that Republican members of the Committee were "playing politics" with the investigation. Preparedness, not politics, is the prime purpose of the inquiry, he said, pointing out that the main objective is to prevent a repetition of the Dec. 7, 1941, debacle.

"Just why some people think that if a Republican member asks why this was done, or that was not done, he is presenting a partisan view, I just cannot understand," Sen. Ferguson said.

Fewer Colonels Urged

Sen. Edwin Johnson, Colorado Democrat, ranking majority member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, demanded last week that the War Department "reduce the number of colonels in the Army and get more bright young second lieutenants." The United States has "an Army of colonels today," he explained. "Why, we've got more Regular Army colonels than the governor of Kentucky has honorary colonels."

"I just asked the War Department for its list of regular commissioned officers. It showed we have 3,397 lieutenant colonels and only 2,295 second lieutenants. We've got more colonels and lieutenant colonels than we have first lieutenants."

Three 'Musts' For The Atomic Age

By W. H. CHAMBERLIN

(Continued from Page 1)

the risk of advocating such a policy. At least this limited mutual renunciation of sovereignty in the one field of illegal armament would be far more feasible than the setting up of a "world government."

2. Let's try abatement of power, not augmentation of power as the true key to security among the Big Three. Long before the war came to an end it was obvious to all except the more obtuse passive recipients of the soothing syrup propaganda dispensed by certain publicists, poets, playwrights, and government agencies that two painfully typical old-fashioned power politics situations were growing up in a desolated Europe and a gutted East Asia.

The Soviet Union and Great Britain were glaring suspiciously at each other across the prostrate body of a ruined continental Europe, making moves and counter-moves, acquiring toe-holds and checking toe-holds. The pulverization of China and the retarded political and economic development of China left the United States and the Soviet Union the only two "great powers" (in the sense of being able to carry on large scale homicide with reasonable efficiency) in the Orient. Neither was very confident as to the other's designs.

Now a formula of all-around simultaneous military withdrawal from foreign soil would contribute much to a dissipation of suspicion and to international reconstruction. This would mean in Europe withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland and Rumania, from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, of British troops from Greece and Italy.

In China it would mean that Soviet troops would get out and stay out of Manchuria, that U. S. Marines would withdraw from China as soon as the complicated task of disarming and repatriating Japanese troops is completed.

In countries under joint or multiple occupation, such as Korea and Iran, it would mean that all foreign troops would clear out and leave the Koreans and the Iranians free to determine their own destiny. In colonial areas it would mean the quickest possible negotiation of plans of self-government which would eliminate the necessity of keeping these areas in the status of armed camps.

3. It is high time that America took the lead in standing for a decent peace. Except for the mass extermination of the Jews, there is not a single crime in the record of the Nazi scoundrels on trial at Nuernberg and elsewhere that cannot be charged with equal justice to the account of one or more of the United Nations in this most ruthless and barbarous of all "peace settlements." Mass murder, deportation, enslavement, looting, rape, seizure of territory without the slightest ethnological justification—all these things, as I may show with more documentation in a later article, have been characteristic of the ghastly aftermath of the world's worst war.

While the most ghastly horrors have occurred east of the Stettin-Trieste line, America has much to answer for before the final judgment of history, what with the Roosevelt-sponsored Morgenthau Plan and the second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. Fear of a "soft" peace is fantastic, in view of the desolation and starvation in Germany and Japan. A just and decent peace is probably the surest guaranty that the manic psychology which would lead to a reckless tossing around of atomic bombs will not take root anywhere in the world.

Names And Notes In The News

Papal Plea. Pope Pius XII, in a Christmas message to the world, called for an end of totalitarian states, whose strength is "cruel and bloody tyranny." True peace, he pointed out, does not now exist, but "with an accumulation, hitherto perhaps never achieved, of experience, good-will, political insight, and organizing talent, men have begun the preliminaries to a world peace settlement." The Pope implied that no nation was entirely free of guilt for international conflict and declared that nations seeking reparations should base their claims "on moral principles and respect for those inviolable natural rights which remain valid even for those who have surrendered unconditionally to the victor." The Pope pleaded that "the motives of hate, vengeance, rivalry, antagonism, and unfair, dishonest competition must be kept out of political and economic debates and decisions."



Pope Pius

Warning. U. S. occupation authorities last week issued a stern warning to German civilians against the illegal transmission of mail. Many Germans seeking to communicate with friends and relatives in America have persuaded U. S. GI's to enclose letters in their own mail home.

Man Of '45. President Truman was named last week as "man of the year" for 1945 by *Time Magazine*. "The greatest of all 1945's events was the atom bomb," said *Time*, adding that the President, "somewhat unfittingly, somewhat against his own will, became more than any other man responsible for the bomb, its use in 1945, and its future."

Refugees. President Truman has ordered the establishment of emergency inter-departmental machinery to provide for entry into the U. S. each month of 3,900 homeless and stateless refugees now in American zones of occupation in Germany and Austria. The President also directed that the 1,000 refugees brought to the U. S. by the late President Roosevelt and interned in a Federal camp at Oswego, N. Y., be permitted to remain in this country and seek citizenship under their national immigration quotas. Mr. Truman made it clear that he was acting strictly within quotas established by existing immigration laws which limit entry into this country to 39,000 persons annually.

Insanity. Ezra Pound, 60-year-old American poet who allegedly made pro-Axis radio broadcasts while he was in Italy during the war, was adjudged insane and mentally unfit for trial in the U. S. District Court in Washington last week.

Exploitation. Questioned at a Congress workers' meeting in Calcutta about the attitude of the All-India Congress Party to the struggle between capital and labor, Mohandas K. Gandhi replied: "Speaking for myself, I freely accept the hospitality of capitalists like the Birias [one of India's industrialist families] and the use of their money to serve the cause of the poor, but capitalists expect nothing in return from me. On the contrary, they are glad to be exploited by me in the interests of the poor." Gandhi defended this course as perfectly "ethical." Dispatches from Calcutta did not indicate whether his response met with any opposition or not.



Gandhi